DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 067 203 RC 006 465

AUTHOR Kuvlesky, William P.
TITLE Children Who Are Short-Changed: Rural Blacks and Chicanos.
INSTITUTION Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO TAES-H-2811
PUB DATE 18 Oct 72
NOTE 24p.; Paper prepared for joint meetings of Rural Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 15-18, 1972

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Language Handicaps; *Mexican Americans; *Negroes; *Occupational Aspiration; Rural Urban Differences; *Rural Youth; *Social Mobility; Statistical Analysis; Tables (Data)

ABSTRACT

Relevant problems facing rural Blacks and Chicanos are discussed in this paper. It is argued that the "American Dream" creates unrealistically high aspirations and expectations for rural youth and the disadvantaged minorities. If rural youth do not choose to migrate to the urban centers, their only alternative is to take whatever employment is available in their local community, thereby limiting paths for broader occupational and social mobility. If they migrate to the metropolis, greater limitations for social mobility are suffered owing to socially structured impediments in their background environments, their perceptions and self-conceptions, and the negative attitudes other members of the society hold toward them. Rural versus urban youth, rural Blacks and Chicanos, rural Black youth in the South, and Chicano youth in the Southwest are additional topics of concern. It is suggested that strong and widespread social support for a high priority national policy coupled with massive funding aimed at serving rural youth's educational and employment needs be developed. Also, the concepts of formal education and educational programs, the use of advanced technology, and the use of nonschool mechanisms having educational potential need to be thoroughly reviewed. (HBC)

ED 067203

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CHILDREN WHO ARE SHORT-CHANGED: RURAL BLACKS AND CHICANOS*

William P. Kuvlesky

Texas Agricultural Experiment Station,
Prairie View A&M College
and
Texas A&M University

*Paper presented at the 1972 joint Rural Education Association and American Association of School Administrators meetings on "Regional Educational Programs, Philadelphia, October 15-18, 1972. This report contributes to Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Prairie View A&M Project G-1968 and Texas A&M Project H-2811.

RC006465

THE AMERICAN DREAM AND REALITY

A basic requisite of any society is that positions necessary to its continued existence be filled by individuals who can and will perform the obligations of these positions effectively. Furthermore, in our society, we believe that human talents and skills should be realized at the uppermost possible limits, allowing each individual to progress upward through the socioeconomic hierarchy to find his limit of potential, self-realization, and social rewards. Our failure to follow through on this explicit ideal--"The American Dream"--has created internal stresses evolving from frustrations of socially structured groupings unable to fulfill the ambitions they have learned are socially expected in our achievement oriented society.

There is a tendency for creation of unrealistically high aspirations and expectations throughout the various population segments of our society. Particularly for rural young people and the disadvantaged minorities, who suffer disadvantages of several kinds, opportunities available for mobility are not compatible with the general level of desire for it. As Robert Merton pointed out some time ago, the incongruent structures of strong achievement goals with limited opportunity have very important negative consequences for individuals and their evaluations of society. A widespread failure to meet the internalized goals and expectations of classes or groupings of persons making up society very surely will lead to sharp internal conflicts and probable changes in the nature of the society itself. Consequently, we should attempt to rationally structure mechanisms for social mobility in our society to utilize as efficiently as possible our human resources, and to generally increase life satisfactions if we are to success-

fully contend with our internal stresses and our external demands. The extent to which we can do this may foretell whether or not we will continue to exist as a cohesive society in the future without undergoing drastic structural change. There is plenty of evidence that this process is already underway in diverse parts of our society: the turning away from the traditional values esteemed in our society by some middle-class young people as characterized by Reich in his book, The Greening of America (1970); the radicalization of the metropolitan ethnic minorities and "hard hats"; the riots in the large urban centers and on campuses across the country in the mid and late 1960's; the general increasing use of "narcotics" by both adults and youth; and the general feeling of helplessness to impact on the bureaucratized society that appears to be so widely shared among our citizens.

What about rural youth? What's happening to them?

RURAL YOUTH

Much evidence exists to indicate that many, if not most, rural youth turn to urban labor markets for realization of their job and income goals. If rural youth do not choose to migrate to the urban centers, their only alternative is to take whatever employment is available in their local community, thereby rigidly limiting alternative paths for occupational mobility and, derivitively, broader social mobility, as well as, having to accept second rate public services, utilities, and leisure alternatives. What is true for rural youth in general is even more so for the disadvantaged Blacks and Chicanos among the rural population. They will suffer greater limitations for social mobility if they migrate to the metropolis due to impedements that are socially structured in their background environments, their perceptions and self-conceptions, and in the negative attitudes other members

of the society hold toward them. Apparently, rural youth are not helping to "Green America" in large numbers, nor, are they "turning on" in large numbers. In a recent chapter I wrote for a book (Gottlieb: forthcoming) I state that "existing research findings and my experiences with rural youth lead me to the conclusion that the vast majority of rural youth, for better or worse, are still much imbued with the success ethic: they still desire to achieve higher social rank, more material amenities, and to improve their life chances as compared with their parents. While they struggle with the transition from adolescence to adult status, as have all youth of all time, most do not reject the prime values and life goals of their parents."

Rural vrs. Urban Youth

The term "rural" has lost much of the descriptive utility it once had as its several originally tightly integrated social attributes have come unraveled--farming, relatively conservative style of life and values, and residence in small, sparsely settled places no longer occur together as a tight bundle of life traits (Bealer, Willits, Kuvlesky; 1965). From an extensive overview of the research literature accumulated over the last 25 years, I have concluded that place of residence is becoming less significant as a basis for social differentiation of behavior in our society, particularly among youth (Gottlieb: forthcoming).

It has been a widely held belief that one of the reasons rural and minority ethnic group youth have less success in achieving social mobility than other youth (i.e. middle-class, metropolitan) is that they have low aspirations. Is this a fact? In my judgment, NO! The rural/urban differentials that have been repeatedly observed in reference to mobility orientations of youth are much less important than the similarly high aspirations and expectations held by most youth (Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1966; Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1968).

The aspirational frames of reference of most rural youth look like portraits of contemporary middle-class, urban life. This is apparently the style of life most of our rural youth, even the most disadvantaged, want and which many expect to obtain. Most rural youth want to move into or near a city and even more expect to (Youmans et. al., 1965: 16; Hernandez and Picou, 1969: 13-14; Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1970). Most rural youth want and expect post-high school education (Kuvlesky, 1969). A recent study in Washington by Slocum (1968) even indicates a dramatic historical shift in farm boys' job aspirations -- from farming to professional and technical jobs. Evidence also exists to indicate that rural youth desire relatively late marriage and small families, and that rural girls desire to work after marriage (Kuvlesky and Obordo, 1972).

On the other hand, present knowledge clearly indicates that rural youth suffer general disadvantages as compared with their urban counterparts in reference to personality adjustment, anxiety, and development of cognitive skills (Haller: 1969). It would appear then, that their greatest problems relative to advancing their prime goals are not attributable to a lack of acculturation into the ways of the highly urbanized, larger society, but, rather rest in their disadvantaged circumstances and resulting maladjustments of personality, social relations, and underdeveloped abilities (Burchinal, 1965: 257-354).

In conclusion, rural youth are, in fact, strongly oriented toward the American "success ethic." The stereotyped notion of rural youth being predominantly oriented toward short run gratifications to the detriment of their chances for social advancement is bunk. Their difficulty in competing on equal terms with metropolitan youth is for the most part more likely a result of a lack of adequate preparation in education and social facilitation. Let us not fall into the trap of moving from these generalizations to the inference

that all rural youth are the same -- they aren't. Sizable minorities of disadvantaged rural youth have relatively low level status aspirations and expectations (Kuvlesky, et. al., 1971; Picou and Cosby, 1971). They come from different kinds of locations and from different ethnic populations, some of which have unique social problems (i.e. the bilingualism of Chicanos (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). Certainly any newly conceived, melioratively oriented educational system, guidance program, or vocational training aimed at rural youth will have to take into account these differences among types of youth: their locations in different kinds of places, and the differences among any particular grouping of them in their life goals and chances.

RURAL BLACKS AND CHICANOS

The concept of subculture is the social scientists' equivalent of the "little black box" or the "hidden hand" -- it covers a multitude of lacks in theory and fact, covers inadequate reasoning, and over-simplifies reality. As we noted for rural vrs. urban youth, young people from so-called "disadvantaged" ethnic groups are also thought to suffer poor vertical social mobility rates because they lack high enough aspirations, which is explained, at least in part, by the value orientations of their subculture. We have great difficulty pinning down the specifics on their different homogenuous patterns of culture, however. Whatever the case in general, until recently, little sound data existed to compare the aspirations and expectations for social mobility held by rural youth of different ethnic origins. However, a recent regional USDA (CSRS) research project started in 1965 (S-61), and still going, (S-81) in which the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station has been very active has helped produce evidence to get a little surer fix on reality than

the largely speculative literature of the past was capable of doing.

Rural Black Youth In The South

The special case and problems of the rural, southern Black youth should need no elaboration here. The pattern of segregated educational systems for Blacks and Whites ("separate but equal") has apparently been ended for the most part -- in some cases only very recently. Yet, attitudes change more slowly, as do other structured patterns of interracial behavior that have not felt the force of national legal sanctions.* What about the Black youth? Are their hopes, ambitions, and aspirations different from the Whites in the same places? Our findings indicate generally they are not, but in some specific ways they are. Let's look at some of our research findings to get more precise.

First of all, almost all rural Black youth in the south want to migrate into or near a large city and most intend to do so (Gottlieb: forthcoming). They differ from comparably situated White youth in this respect only in the extent to which they desire and intend to move (Kuvlesky and Pelham; 1970), Table 1. Almost no Black youth desire to farm (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf; 1968).

In reference to occupational and educational aspirations, about half or more of both Black and White boys had "high" aspirations and much smaller proportions had low aspirations, Table 2. Black girls had in general higher aspirations than White girls, and very few of either had low-level ambitions. When we move from aspirations (what is desired) to expectations (what is actually expected) -- Table 3 -- a general shift downward in status attainment projected is noticeable. But, now in every case, Black youth have the highest proportions expecting high status attainment. Can one really not draw the inference that many of these adolescents see life through rose-

* For example we found as a result of a 1970 study that a large proportion of rural Black mothers prefer racially segregated schools (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971).

Table 1. Place of Residence Aspirations of Rural Texas Youth by Race and Sex, 1966. [1]

Proximity to a City	High School Sophomores			
	White		Black	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
	%			
In a City	33	[56]	[72]	[80]
Near a City	[50]	39	23	17
Not Near a City	17	5	5	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

[ ] Largest percentage of each race-sex grouping.

[1] Modification of a table presented by Kuvlesky and Pelham (1970: 171)

Table 2. Comparison of Three Ethnic Groups Having "High" and "Low" Status Aspirations: Study of Nonmetropolitan Texas Adolescents, 1966-1967.[1]

Leval of Aspiration	Boys			Girls		
	Anglo	Black	Chicano	Anglo	Black	Chicano
	- - -

Table 3. Comparison of Three Ethnic Groups Having "High" and "Low" Social Status Expectations: Study of Nonmetropolitan Texas Adolescents, 1966-1967.[1]

Level of Expectation	High School Sophomores					
	Boys			Girls		
	Anglo	Black	Chicano	Anglo	Black	Chicano
	- - -

colored glasses and are in for a shock one day? The fact that some see the picture quite clearly, especially among the rural Whites, is indicated by the much higher proportion of low-level expected attainments as compared with desired ones (compare Tables 2 and 3).

Of course there is more to life than jobs and schooling, and youth have other ambitions and goals. Our Texas results, which are congruent with findings from other S-61 analyses in the South, indicate that both Black and White rural girls on the average desire relatively late marriage and families much smaller than those they were reared in, Table 4. Surprisingly, Black girls desired to marry almost two years later than their White counterparts. We also found that both types of rural girls both desired and expected to work after marriage: the Whites much more often limited this until they had children than did the Blacks, Table 5. In other research we have found that Black boys in rural areas are very positively oriented toward military service, as are their rural White and Black metropolitan counterparts (Kuvlesky and Dietrich, 1973).

In summary, the picture drawn from these findings indicates that rural Black youth are not very different from White youth in the South in what they desire out of life and the kind of life they expect. They want the good life and expect to have to work for it. On the other hand, evidence on behavioral patterns, cognitive performance, educational skills, and actual social attainment would suggest that like rural youth in general -- as compared with urban youth -- Black youth, relative Whites, fall progressively behind in achievement potential as they age, only more so.

Table 4. A Comparison of Black and White Rural Girls Orientations Toward Desired Age of Marriage and Desired Number of Children: East Texas, 1966.[1]

	Mean age of Marriage Desired	Mean number of Children Desired
Black Girls (N=99)	23	3
White Girls (N=132)	21	3

Table 5. Rural Texas Girls' Orientations Toward Work After Marriage, 1966.*

Alternatives	Aspiration		Expectation	
	Black (N=92)	White (N=126)	Black (N=94)	White (N=123)
	%	%	%	%
Not work at all	9	19	13	19
Work until children	36	62	33	54
Work after children	55	19	54	27
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
No Information	7	8	5	11
$^1/X^2 = 31.43$	df = 2	P .001		
$^1/X^2 = 16.91$	df = 2	P .001		

[1]Tables abstracted from Kuvlesky and Obordo (1972: 78)

Chicano Youth In The Southwest

I'm not going to spend much time in this particular paper discussing the attributes, problems, and needs of Chicano rural youth; for we have just completed a rather thorough overview of their situation in a paper presented this past summer (Wright, Salinas, Kuvlesky, 1972). (I'll be happy to send anyone who desires it a copy of this paper.) Also, the general knowledge we have of the rural Chicano -- based on sparse research -- would indicate that they are not very different form rural Blacks or Anglos in their values, aspirations, and expectations (See Tables 3 and 4). As Dave Wright concludes in the above noted paper: "Our research has confirmed that Mexican American youth (and others) from the most disadvantaged conditions possible in this nation are success oriented; they accept the goals of this society and are strongly committed to them. Whether these youth have historically held high mobility ambitions or have only recently acquired such ambitions, most can be described currently as being highly success oriented, particularly when one considers the origins of these youth. Failure to be upwardly mobile in the future cannot be blamed upon any absolute lack of personal desire or personal commitment. And, there is indication that these youth additionally accept the societally prescribed means to their goals, as evidenced by their educational projections, education being a standard, effective, and widely condoned channel of mobility -- that is, they indicate an acceptance of prescribed means, so far!"

Anywhere from 10% to 70% of rural Chicanos drop out of school in the Southwest, depending on particular local conditions. A recent Texas study on these doubly disadvantaged young people show that they doggedly hang on to the "American Dream". Most of them wanted to go back and complete high school and would under favorable conditions. Most wanted post-high school education

and good, high prestige jobs; yet, most reported that nobody encouraged them to stay in school before they gave up the chase (Wages, 1971). This may help to explain why adult Mexican Americans in the southwest have achieved levels of education far below the rural Blacks and Anglos.

It is a good guess that the bilingual nature of most rural Chicanos, their tendency to rely on Spanish as their prime spoken language, (See Table 6)(Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973), coupled with the past tendency of local educators and others (i.e., County Agents) to appreciate the importance of this fact and take advantage of it goes a long way in explaining their lack of capability to achieve higher levels of formal education. There is some evidence that attitudes are shifting in this regard, and, in at least some rural schools in the southwest Chicanos are not punished for speaking Spanish in school. In the earlier paper we concluded that there is littl likelihood that Mexican American youth in substantial number can advance through a college education until the language problems can be overcome. Even given th: fact that there are a number of promising programs involving bilingual education for American Indians and Mexican Americans which exist through stimulation by federal encouragement and funding, it is doubtful whether the school functionaires at the local level have dramatically altered their long standing, negative orientations about the use of a "foreign" language in their schools. What may appear to be a significant trend toward bilingual programs in terms of funding being utilized, may be a deceiving surface effect--little may have changed in most local rural schools in the southwest in this regard. Of course, the issue is broader than a willingness to tolerate use of Spanish in school; it is really the extent to which the school staff and others dealing with Chicanos can relate meaningfully to the students -- their needs, interests, backgrounds.

Table 6. Comparison of Rural Mexican American High School Students and Dropout Age Peers Using Only Spanish in Different Situations by Sex: Rural, South Texas, 1966-1967.

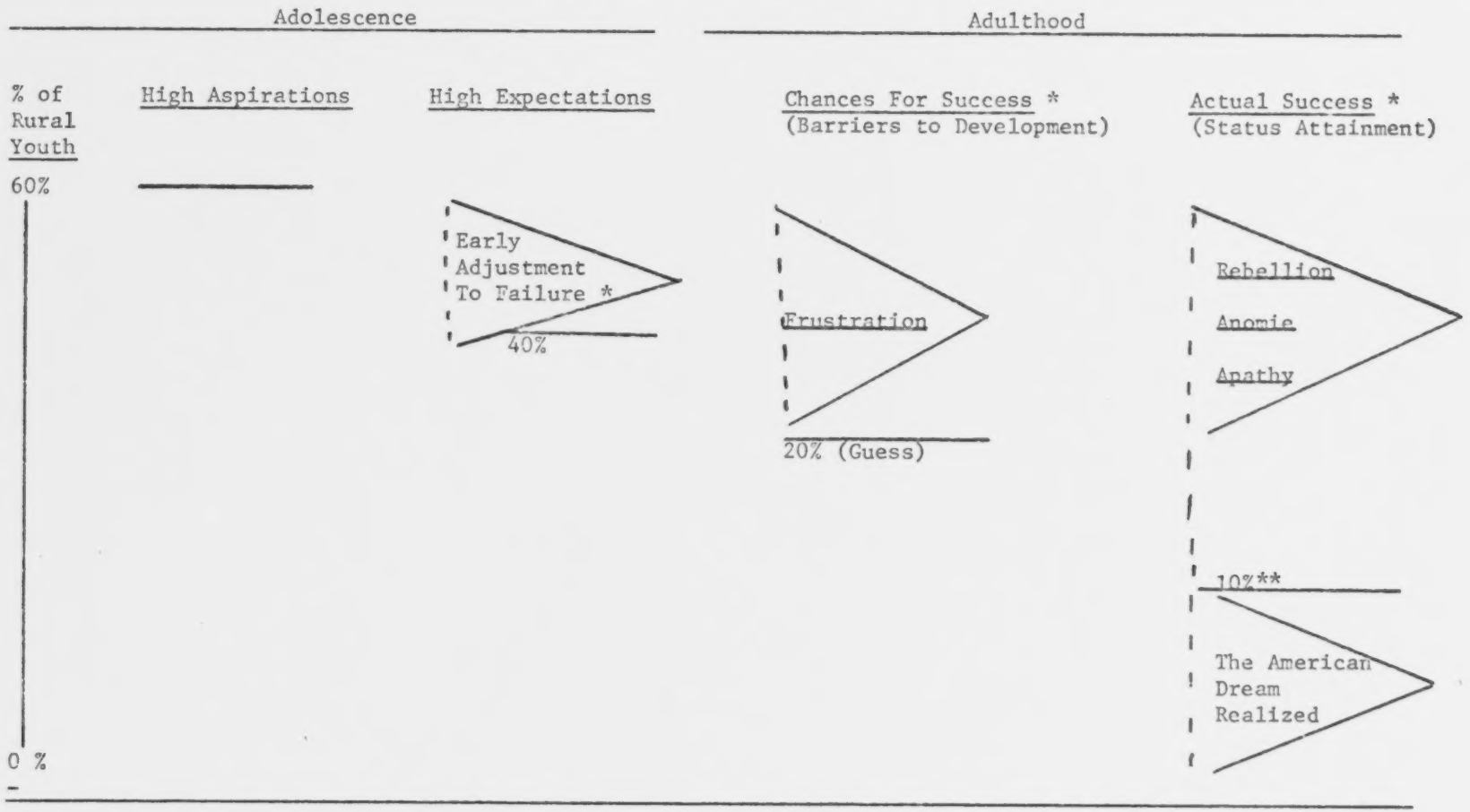
Situation	Males		Females	
	Students	DOs	Students	DOs
	----------Percent Using Only Spanish----------			
With Parents	76	77	55	71
Friends-Neighborhood	54	69	27	35
Friends-School	30	46	13	22
Radio	5	20	7	12
Mass Literature	1	2	1	3

Conclusions and Suggestions

In my judgment, existing research evidence shows clearly that most rural youth, including Blacks in the south and Chicanos in the southwest, do not have low level achievement aspirations, nor, are they apparently at odds with the traditional emphasis on using education to climb the social ladder. They hold the "American Dream" quite tightly and doggedly even though they suffer a poor chance of realizing it as a result of what are primarily socially structured impedements to their development, potential for self-realization, and chances for marked upward social mobility. Many of these rural youth, in particular the Blacks and Chicanos, give up on their local communities and take their chances in the metropolis in the often futile chase after their dreams of the good life: a proportionately few make it, most do not, (Diagram 1). Of course, there are a relatively small, but sometimes substantial number of low aspirers -- many of whom decide to stay put in their local, home towns. These people shouldn't be overlooked either; for they have problems too.

Over the past six years I have personally authored a half a dozen papers providing suggestions for meliorating these negative circumstances, mainly in the belief that changing outmoded and inadequate educational structures and practices would do the job (See Appendix #2). Even though I'm a self-proclaimed "knowledge-for-knowledge sake" type, I can't endure my observations without swinging out to try and make an impact in getting meliorative policies and innovative practices established. Many others have been trying too, and a number of good suggestion filled volumes have accumulated, (see Appendix #1). The paper is already too long and I won't take the time or space to rehash these. However, I think there are several major

Diagram 1. A Realistic View of Rural Minority Youth's Chances of Realizing Their Dreams: A Rough Summary Model Based on Past Research Findings



* In attaining adolescent status goals (i.e. jobs, education, and income).

** Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966.

musts that we must work toward if we are going to impact constructively on improving the life chances of disadvantaged rural youth, from the perspective of their valued life ends.

First, I think we must develop strong and widespread social support for a high priority national policy coupled with massive funding aimed at serving rural youth's educational and employment needs. Second, I think we need to thoroughly review our concept of formal education and be flexible and broad in our view of educational programs, use of advanced technology, and use of nonschool mechanisms having educational potential. A number of relatively recent and innovative events make me optimistic in this regard: the state of North Dakota's experiments with the "open school" concept; the rural focus given by the "Experimental Schools Program" of the Office of Education; ERIC-CRESS and the fine work they are doing in bringing together researchers, policy makers, and educators through literature; the willingness of HEW to fund significant, new applications of advanced remote computer technology to serve rural communities; the evolution of regional service centers as an intermediate educational unit between the state and the local schools; the movements to equalize the tax base of local school districts; and the slowly improving better understanding we are gaining about rural youth and their needs that can destroy erroneous and destructive, negative stereotypes held by others about them.

Still, there are problems we haven't faced up to as honestly as some of those implied above and which may be harder to overcome. For instance, evolving a truly STUDENT-ORIENTED -- not educationalist or community oriented-- framework for education and school operations, and developing the intensive, individualized set of counseling structures needed as continuous assistance

by the student in figuring out his life ends and planning rationally to maximize them as he or she experiences "education". My own direct observations tell me that this may be one of the sadest current lacks in our rural schools. This needs to be documented through some intensive research.

Dr. Ev Edington (Director of ERIC-CRESS) believes strongly that better interpenetration between the different categories of professionals concerned with rural youth and their problems is a prerequisite to bringing about the broad sweeping changes described above: to provide better understanding of problems and how they can be resolved; to provide documentation of needs, and to marshal telling social support. I can speak for a number of my colleagues in Rural Sociology, in saying I agree with him. This is a problem that is close to home and under our direct control. Can we solve it? The fact that you invited me to share my ideas with you and that I came is evidence that we are at least starting to.

APPENDIX #1

Selected Reports Providing General Policy Implications From Research on Orientations, Values and Social Conditions of Rural Youth

1962 Burchinal, L. G., et. al. Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society. NCRP No. 142. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station.

1963 Haller, A. O., et. al. Rural Youth Need Help in Choosing Occupations. Circular Bulletin 235. East Lansing, Michigan State University.

1965 Burchinal, L. G. (ed.). Rural Youth in Crisis: Facts, Myths, and Social Change. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

1966 Kuvlesky, W. P. Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: Some Suggestions for Action Programs (Mimeo). College Station, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University.

1966 Haller, A. O. "Occupational Choices of Rural Youth," Journal of Cooperative Extension (Summer).

1967 Cowhig, J. D. and C. L. Beale. "Vocational Agriculture Enrollment and Farm Employment Opportunities," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 47 (March, 1967), pp. 413-423.

1969 Haller, A. O. Rural Educational and Occupational Attainments of Youth. Las Cruces, New Mexico, ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University.

1969 Griessman, B. E. and K. G. Densley. Vocational Education in Rural Areas. VT Research Series No. 50. Las Cruces, New Mexico, ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University.

1970 McClurkin, W. D. Rural Education in the United States. Las Cruces: ERIC-CRESS, New Mexico State University.

1971 Henderson, G. America's Other Children: Public Schools Outside Suburbia. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Forthcoming - Kuvlesky, W. P. "Rural Youth: Current Status and Prognosis," in David Gottlieb (ed.). Youth and the Seventies. Sage Publications, Inc.

Appendix #2

Kuvlesky's Writings On Policy and Action Needs Relative To Rural Youth

1966 William P. Kuvlesky. "Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: Some Suggestions for Action Programs," Proceedings, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers meeting -- Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Section, Jackson, Mississippi.

1966 William P. Kuvlesky. "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility," National Vocational-Technical Education Seminar on Occupational Mobility and Migration, Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina State University at Raleigh, Center for Occupational Education, Center Seminar and Conference Report No. 2, 1966, pp. 160-182.

1969 William P. Kuvlesky. "A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections for Occupational and Educational Attainment," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, August.

1970 William P. Kuvlesky. "Implications of Recent Research On Occupational Educational Ambitions of Disadvantaged Rural Youth." Paper presented at "Institute 4: Expanding Vocational Education Curriculums to Meet the Needs of Disadvantaged Youth and Adults in Rural Areas," (National Inservice Training Multiple Institutes for Vocational and Related Personnel in Rural Areas), Mississippi State University, July.

1971 William P. Kuvlesky. "Rural Youth In The Seventies: Problems and Needs". Presented at the "Conference on Youth In the Seventies: Implications for Planning, Policy and Programs", jointly sponsored by the Center For Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota; College of Human Resources, Pennsylvania State University and Office of Child Development, HEW. Stillwater, Minnesota, June.

1972 William P. Kuvlesky and Rowan Stutz. "The Relationship Between Educational Policy and Rural Development Needs: A Conceptual Overview." Keynote paper of the Seminar on Educational Policy and Rural Development, Third World Congress of Rural Sociology, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, August 22-27.

1972 Beverly Snyder. "Better Schools For Country Kids" (a review), Farm Journal, May.

LIST OF REFERENCES

1957 Merton, R. K. Social Theory and Social Structure. (Revised and enlarged edition) New York: The Free Press.

1963 Willits, F. K. and R. C. Bealer. "The utility of residence for differentiating social conservation in youth." Rural Sociology 28 (March): 70-80.

1965 Bealer, R. C., F. K. Willits, and W. P. Kuvlesky. "The meaning of 'rurality' in American society: some implications of alternative definitions." Rural Sociology 30 (September): 255-266.

1965 Burchinal, L. G. (ed.) Rural Youth in Crisis: Facts, Myths and Social Change. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Welfare Administration. Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

1965 Youmans, E. G., S. E. Grigsby, and H. C. King. After High School What: Highlights of a Study of Negro and White Rural Youth in Three Florida Counties. Gainesville: University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Service.

1966 Kuvlesky, W. P. and J. T. Pelham. Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature. College Station: Texas A&M University Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology DTR 66-3 (September).

1967 Kuvlesky, W. P. and Robert C. Bealer. "The Relevance of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainments." Rural Sociology (September): 290-301.

1968 Kuvlesky, W. P. and N. L. Jacob. Educational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations of the Research Literature. College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, DTR 68-3 (October).

1968 Kuvlesky, W. P. and George W. Ohlendorf. "A Rural-Urban Comparison of the Occupational Status Orientations of Negro boys." Rural Sociology (June): 141-152.

1968 Slocum, W. L. Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Students in Rural Washington Schools. Washington State University: Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin Number 690.

1969 Haller, A. O. Rural Education and The Educational and Occupational Attainments of Youth. Las Cruces: ERIC-CRESS New Mexico State University (June).

1969 Hernandez, P. F. and J. S. Picou. Rural Youth Plan Ahead: A Study of Occupational, Educational, Residential, and Marital Expectations of Rural Youth in Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin Number 640 (August).

1969 Pelham, John. "Inter-state differences in educational, occupational, and income status aspirations of southern rural males." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Mobile.

1969 Wages, S., K. Thomas, and W. P. Kuvlesky. "Mexican American teen-age school dropouts: reasons for leaving school and orientations toward subsequent educational attainment." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Houston.

1970 Kuvlesky, W. P. "Dynamics of occupational and educational status projections: a theoretical perspective." Paper presented to the 1970 Rural Sociological Society Research Committee on Educational and Occupational Behavior at annual meeting of the Society, Washington, D.C.

1970 Kuvlesky, W. P. and Pelham, J. T. "Place of residence projections of rural youth," Social Science Quarterly 50 (June): 166-176.

1970 Reich, C. A. The Greening of America. New York: Random House.

1971 Kuvlesky, William P. "Institutions and Socialization" in Youth In The Seventies: Implications for Program Planning and Policy. Conference Report of the Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota; College of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University and; Office of Child Development, U.S. Department of HEW. Minneapolis (November): 9-17.

1971 Kuvlesky, W. P., D. E. Wright, and R. Z. Juarez. "Status projections and ethnicity: a comparison of Mexican American, Negro, and Anglo youth." Journal of Vocational Behavior 1 (April): 137-151.

1971 Picou, J. S. and A. G. Cosby. "Social origins, occupational goals, and southern youth." Youth and Society (March): 307-322.

1972 Kuvlesky, W. P. and Katheryn Thomas Dietrich. "Southern black youth's perceptions of military service: a nonmetropolitan-metropolitan comparison of attitudes, aspirations and expectations." Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society at the American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, August 29, New Orleans.

1972 Kuvlesky, W. P. and A. S. Obordo. A racial comparison of teen-age girls' projections for marriage and procreation." Journal of Marriage and the Family. (February): 75-84.

1972 Wright, D., E. Salinas, and W. P. Kuvlesky. "Ambitions and opportunities for social mobility and their consequences for Mexican Americans as compared with other youth." Paper presented at the "Workshop on Southwest Ethnic Groups: Sociopolitical Environment and Education," sponsored by the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center at the University of Texas at El Paso, (July).

1973 Gottlieb, David. Youth In The Seventies. See William P. Kuvlesky, (forthcoming) "Rural Youth: Current Status and Prognosis".

1973 Patella, Victoria and William P. Kuvlesky. "Situational variation in (forthcoming) language patterns of Mexican American boys and girls." A research note submitted to Social Science Quarterly, (July, 1972).